THE DEMISE OF PROTO-PHILIPPINES

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0. INTRODUCTION

This paper constitutes a report of research in progress. Its results are tentative, in that I am still looking for confirmatory evidence, but the general direction of the research seems justified given the evidence presently available. For a number of years I have operated on the assumption that the Philippine languages (and possibly others, external to the Philippine archipelago) constitute a subfamily within the Malayo-Polynesian, or extra-Formosan languages. Certainly the languages are typologically similar, to the extent that the use of the term 'Philippine-type' is widely accepted as defining a certain kind of verbal syntax. It has been a useful assumption too, in that it has enabled us to reconstruct some features of an early proto-language, to which the label Proto-Philippines has been applied.

Clinging to the concept of the Philippines as a subfamily, with each of its languages more closely related to one another than to any language outside the Philippines, has, for me anyway, been a reaction to the completely untenable theory that the different ethnic groups in the Philippines are the result of a series of migrations from the south and the west, a view that was popularised by the late H. Otley Beyer (1948) and which is still taught as fact in Philippine schools today. It is a theory, however, which has never been substantiated by any evidence, linguistic or archaeological. (For a critique of the wave migration theory of Philippine ethnic groups from the archaeologists' and anthropologists' point of view, see Evangelista (1967), Jocano (1967), and Yengoyan (1967).)

If the theory of multiple migrations were true, it would imply that the closest linguistic relatives of each group in the Philippines would be with the group from which it separated at the time of its migration. We ought to be able to trace shared innovations which would establish the unity of each migrant group with the group at its point of origin, in much the same way as the ancestors of the Malagasy-speaking people in Madagascar have been shown to have migrated from Borneo more than fifteen hundred years ago and to be most closely related to the Maanyan language (Dahl 1951). But such evidence for the Philippine languages has not been forthcoming.

The opposite point of view is that all Philippine languages developed in situ, and are daughters of a single parent language which could be called Proto-Philippines. Some attempt has been made to reconstruct a Proto-Philippines, but

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there are very few features of this proto-language which can be shown to be innovations restricted only to languages within the Philippine archipelago or its environs. With a situation such as this, can we continue to cling to the notion of a Philippine subfamily, or should we revise our assumptions? Reid (1978), after noting the weak nature of the evidence for a Proto-Philippines, commented, "It is possible that in the future we may have to reassess completely the evidence for a Proto-Philippines, even comprising the languages of the geographical Philippines."

This paper is the beginning of the reassessment. It will give evidence which suggests that the northern languages of the Philippines do not form a sister subgroup with the rest of the Philippines, but with a much larger subgroup, comprising most if not all of the rest of the Malayo-Polynesian family. It will claim that Dempwolff's 'facultative' nasal, which forms nasal clusters in many word bases in Central and Southern Philippine languages, Indonesian and Oceanic languages is an innovation which postdated the separation of the parent of the Northern Philippine languages from the parent of the rest of the extra-Formosan languages. It will also claim that forms with medial nasal clusters which appear in the northern Philippine languages, and which appear to be cognate with forms with a nasal in languages outside this group are borrowed forms.

1. IS THERE ANY EVIDENCE FOR A PROTO-PHILIPPINES?

1.1. There has been little systematic attempt to reconstruct a Proto-Philippines (PPh), apart from the work of Charles (1974), which deals with phonological reconstruction, two papers which discuss the reconstruction of grammatical markers (Reid 1978, 1979), and an unpublished list of possible Proto-Philippine lexical items (Zorc 1971).

Charles did not restrict himself to the comparison of languages of the geographical Philippines, but included, as well, languages of the northern Celebes (Sangirese, Tontemboan, Mongondow and Gorontalo) and northern Borneo (Dusun and Murut), since from the time of Brandstetter (1906), these languages have been recognised as bearing phonological, lexical and syntactic similarity to the languages in the Philippines.

The phonological developments which Charles proposed for Proto-Philippines from Proto-Austronesian were as follows:

a. PAN *C, *T and *t do not contrast in PPh, they are reflected simply as PPh *t.
b. PAN *c and *s merged as *s in PPh.
c. PAN *d, *D, *z and *Z similarly have merged to PPh *d.
d. PAN *-ey and *-ay merged in PPh *-ay.
e. None of Dyen's subscripted PAN phonemes (R_1-R_4, S_1-S_5, etc.) or the other PAN phonemes reconstructed by Dyen to account for variant Formosan reflexes are distinguished in the Philippines.

Two problems arise. One, is that some of Dyen's and Dempwolff's proposed phonemic contrasts for PAN do not stand close scrutiny, and are probably the result of unrecognised borrowing or obscured phonological processes in the history of the languages involved. (Wolff, in his paper in this volume, challenges the reconstruction of PAN *c, *z, *g, and *T.) The other problem is that the suggested mergers are by no means unique to the Philippines. All languages outside of Formosa have merged *C and *t. All but a few western Indonesian

languages (Javanese, Malay, Acehnese and Malagasy) have also merged the reflexes of *c and *s. Only Javanese and Madurese distinguish retroflexed apicals (*T and *D) from non-retroflexed (*t and *d). The status of *z as distinct from *Z is questionable, and there are many languages outside the Philippine group that do not have a distinct reflex of *Z from *d and *D. None of the mergers which were listed by Charles are innovations which exclusively appear in the Philippines, either in its restricted geographical sense, or in its extended typological sense.

Charles (1974:487) stated that the reason he included the languages of north Borneo in the Philippine subgroup is that they merge *z, *Z, *d, *D and *j, implying that this is a merger which characterises the Philippines. The Cordilleran languages of the Philippines however (as Charles also notes) do not merge *j with *d. Their reflex of *j is generally g. Blust (1974) furthermore argues that the northern Borneo languages do not subgroup with languages to the north of it (in the Philippines) but to languages further south in Sarawak, on the basis of an exclusively shared innovation in those languages by which a vowel was deleted when it occurred between reflexes of a PAN voiced obstruent and a following *S, with subsequent change of *s to h.

1.2. The articles which attempted to reconstruct grammatical forms for Proto-Philippines (Reid 1978, 1979), can be examined under the same light as Charles' paper on Proto-Philippine phonology. Although the forms which were reconstructed provide a plausible proto-system, and account for much of the diversity found in grammatical markers in Philippine languages, nothing is proposed which could not be present in an earlier proto-language, one that would perhaps be the parent of all extra-Formosan languages. There are no exclusively shared innovations separating the Philippine languages either in the restricted or the expanded sense, from other non-Philippine languages.

1.3. Zorc (1971) is a compilation of reconstructed forms from the works of Dempwolff, Dyen and Blust, which have reflexes in some Philippine languages. These are supplemented by reconstructions by Zorc and by Charles based on a comparison of Philippine lexicons. If there were a Proto-Philippines, the items in this list would probably have formed a fair part of its vocabulary. However, they do not themselves give evidence for a Proto-Philippines, as evidenced by Zorc's tongue-in-cheek title (Proto-[Proto-(Proto)]-Philippine finder list).

1.4. The Philippines has also been considered a single subgroup because of the 'focus' system of syntax. However a similar system is also found in Formosa (especially in Amis) as well as in languages to the south of the Philippines, and in Malagasy. Chamorro also shows evidence that it, too, once had such a system. All of these systems evolved from a Proto-Austronesian syntax, described in detail in the paper by Starosta, Pawley and Reid in this volume. Whether the verbal focus systems in non-Philippine languages developed independently from the systems that developed in the Philippines, or whether a developed verbal focus system evolved only once in the history of Austronesian is still an unanswered question. We still cannot say with assurance that the

possession of a verbal focus system is a shared innovation which unites those languages that have one into a single subfamily of Austronesian.

There is no evidence which we can at present produce to support the hypothesis that Philippine languages form a single subgroup within Austronesian and until there is, we probably should stop talking about a Proto-Philippines.

1.5. A number of works have noted the aberrant nature of certain of the Philippine languages, and have suggested that these languages do not constitute a part of a Philippine subgroup. It has usually been the low lexicostatistical percentages that these languages have when compared to other Philippine languages that has justified their being excluded from the Philippine subgroup. These languages include Ivatan, Ilongot, Tiruray, Bagobo, and the Bilic subgroup (Blaan and Tboli). At the present time, Ilongot is the only one of these languages which can with any assurance be subgrouped within an accepted Philippine subgroup — Southern Cordilleran (Reid 1979), also called Pangasinic (Zorc 1979). But even this assignment of Ilongot is challenged by Walton (1979) and McFarland (1980).

The Bilic languages are a different story. They are not just lexically divergent. They are phonologically, morphologically and syntactically divergent. Their position in relation to other Philippine languages is particularly suspect. I will return to these languages again below.

The genetic affiliation of the Sama-Bajaw languages is also questionable. Pallesen (1977:339) states,

> The geographical origin and immediate linguistic affiliates of PSB [Proto-Sama-Bajaw] have not yet been determined. A number of distinctive characteristics (e.g. the h reflex of PAN *R, the semantic features of the phrase marking particles (or prepositions), the lack of verbal inflection to mark the action-begun vs. action-not-begun contrast, a 7-vowel system, a uniquely marked agentive phrase) indicate an Indonesian origin rather than any close relationship to the Central Philippine languages with which many SB daughter languages are currently in geographical proximity.

2. MEDIAL NASAL CLUSTERS, AND THE NORTHERN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

The position of the northern languages of the Philippines, in particular the Cordilleran group vis-a-vis the languages in the central and southern areas of the Philippines has never to my knowledge been seriously questioned. It has been assumed by everyone doing Philippine comparative work that these represent the two major divisions of Philippine languages, and cognates appearing in both groups would automatically qualify for inclusion in a Proto-Philippines.

2.1. The case of Bontok

I began to question the status of the genetic relationship between the Cordilleran languages and the rest of the Philippine group in 1978, when a student (Mary Nutthal, Department of Anthropology, Auckland University) in a paper in which she was identifying the reflexes of reconstructed lexical items in Bontok, a Central Cordilleran language, reported that although she had identified a large number of reflexes of supposedly PAN and PPh words, there were relatively few apparent reflexes of the many items in Dempwolff (1938), Blust (1970) and Zorc (1971) which had been reconstructed with either an obligatory, or optional prenasalised medial consonant.

The forms which were possible reflexes generally showed either phonological evidence of having been borrowed (as in Table 1), or did not have a medial nasal (as in Table 2). The following reconstructions are cited from Zorc (1971). The Bontok forms are from Reid (1976).

Table 1: Borrowed medial nasal cluster forms in Bontok showing irregular phonological reflexes

*baNkaw *'spear, lance'*	>	bangkaw (expected bangkew)
*baNtay *'guard, watch'*	>	bantay (expected bantey)
*saNlaR *'toast, fry'*	>	sanglag (expected sanglal)
*t+uNduR *'follow'*	>	tundug (expected tundul)

Table 2: Bontok reflexes which do not show a medial nasal cluster

*aNpil *'favour one person over another'*	>	qapil
*a(N)pu *'grandparent, child'*	>	qapu
*a(N)taq *'unripe'*	>	q:ata
*i(N)pit *'squeeze'*	>	qi:pit
*u(N)tek *'brain'*	>	qu:tek
*buNkar *'toss around'*	>	bu:kal
*DeNpilas *'cliff'*	>	deplas
*ke(N)pes *'shrink, shrivel'*	>	kepes
*ke(N)pit *'press, clamp'*	>	kipit
*kiNdat *'open up eyes'*	>	ki:dat
*la(N)pis *'layer, thin, slab'*	>	lapisdak
*leNpit *'fold'*	>	ka-lpit
*li(N)kep *'shut a door'*	>	likep
*li(N)kung *'concave, bent'*	>	likung

Table 2 (cont)

*lu(N)tuq *'cook'*	>	lu:tu
*ciNduk *'ladle, scoop'*	>	si:duk
*su(N)wan *'tool'*	>	su:wan
*ta(N)bun *'cover up'*	>	ta:bun
*ta(N)gi *'ask payment'*	>	ta:gi
*ta(N)pi[ ] *'winnow'*	>	t-in-api
*ti(N)pun *'assemble, unite'*	>	ti:pun
*tu(N)buq *'grow, increase'*	>	tu:bu

Several questions arose as a result of this discovery that Bontok did not appear to reflect the nasal in forms with reconstructed medial nasal clusters.

2.1.1. One question was, could Bontok have lost the nasal in such forms? The evidence would seem to indicate that the answer to this question is negative. There is no synchronic or other evidence which would indicate a phonological restriction on medial nasal clusters. To the contrary, all possible nasal plus consonant clusters occur in the language, both homorganic and heterorganic, as the result of loss of an unstressed pepet vowel following either -in- or -um- infixes, and the introduction of borrowed forms with such clusters. Neither is there any evidence to suggest that medial nasal clusters developed as non-nasal clusters as has been proposed by Blust (1980) for the Chamic languages, where such clusters may have become sequences of glottal stop plus consonant.

2.1.2. Another question which needed to be answered was, to what extent is the situation in Bontok typical of the northern languages of the Philippines? This question was not as easy to answer as it was for Bontok, partly because of the dearth of good dictionaries, and partly because sound changes in the Northern Cordilleran languages tend to obscure borrowed forms. In all of those languages (except Ilokano), the regular reflex of *R is g, as it is in Tagalog and the other Central Philippine languages. Similarly, *a before *y or *w does not become e, as it does in the Central and Southern Cordilleran languages, but remains a as it does in Tagalog. It was apparent however that there were far fewer possible reflexes of forms with a medial nasal cluster than there were of forms without the cluster. Furthermore, those that did occur were often the same forms as those which could be shown to be borrowings in Bontok.

The northern Philippine language with the greatest number of possibly inherited forms with a medial nasal cluster is Ilokano. However we can show that a large proportion of these forms are probably borrowings. To this we will return below.

2.1.3. A third question arose as the result of the realisation that Bontok probably did not have reflexes of reconstructed medial nasal clusters. The origin of the medial nasal in the forms in question has been considered by Dahl (1973), Latta (1978) and others to be the same as the final nasal in the maN- prefix. If this be so, how could one explain the fact that Bontok has a reflex of *maN-, but no medial *-N-? The answer to this is that whether or not there was a stage in the history of those languages when the infixation of *-N- into root words functioned in the same way as infixation of *-N- into *ma- derived forms, viz. as a transitivising affix, the phonological processes associated with each are different. This has long been recognised and has been extensively discussed in the literature. Both the medial nasal and the maN- final nasal assimilate to a following non-continuant. It is only maN-, or N- at the beginning of a word which triggers nasal substitution (or deletion) of the following consonant. Infixation of -N- into a root, produced assimilation, but no deletion. If the development of these nasal infixes occurred at the same time in the history of the languages, it is difficult to account for the difference in phonological processes associated with each.

One other set of facts is of crucial importance here in determining the relative chronology of the development of these two nasal infixes. In Javanese, N- (from *maN-) assimilates to n' before s < *t'. The assimilation to a palatal nasal reflects the fact that the following s was originally *t', a palatal non-continuant. The medial nasal *-N-, however, does not assimilate to a following s < *t', but remains ng. Dempwolff claimed that Javanese -ngs- was the result of dissimilation, but both Blust (1970) and Dahl (1973) have argued that the Javanese medial -ngs- sequence can be better accounted for by claiming that the assimilation of *-N- to a following non-continuant only began to operate after *t' > s, so that Javanese -ngs- never fit the structural description necessary for assimilation to take place. Latta (1978) states that Javanese n' for initial s creates a relative chronology problem for this hypothesis, one for which he could see no obvious solution. It would seem that the only reasonable explanation for these facts is that infixation of *-N- into root words was subsequent to the change *t' > s. The assimilation was not triggered because s is not a non-continuant.

There is no problem then, in having a language such as Bontok in which reflexes of *maN- occur but no reflexes of *-N-. Infixation of *-N- into root words must have postdated the separation of the parent of Bontok from the parent of the languages in which reflexes of *-N- appear.

2.2. The case of Ilokano

There are around 50 words in Ilokano which contain a medial nasal cluster which could possibly be a reflex of a reconstructed nasal cluster. If the thesis of this paper is correct, none of these forms is inherited, because the process by which medial nasals became infixed developed after the separation of the northern languages of the Philippines from the rest of the extra-Formosan languages.

That Ilokano has been heavily influenced by outside contacts, should come as no surprise. Ilokanos, being a coastal people, were as much involved in trade with whomever passed their shores as people further south were. In addition to coastal trade, Ilokanos probably also developed overland trade routes through Pangasinan and Kapampangan territory to Manila.

Pallesen (1977) has documented the routes of Sama-Bajaw traders from the Sulu area into the Bisayas close to a thousand years ago, and has also documented some of their probable settlements in that area. It would seem strange if having gone that far north and establishing trading bases, they did not also sail up the west coast of Luzon to tap that region for the wealth of forest products and possibly gold that was available in the Ilokos region. Such trips would almost certainly have required refitting and repair stops, or stopover periods during the bad weather months in the second half of the year when sailing would have been dangerous.

Pallesen (1977:362) discusses the linguistic evidence for the establishing of such a settlement point at the Agusan River mouth in north-east Mindanao. He raises, for example, an unanswered question regarding the source of the Northern Sama (q)ag- actor focus prefix. It may be coincidental that Ilokano seems to be the only other Philippine language that uses qag- with this function. It may also be coincidence that Sama-Bajaw and Ilokano share the phonological process of consonant gemination after a pepet vowel. But these facts may gain significance if further linguistic evidence of contact can be demonstrated.

Pallesen suggests that the presence of the form daqing meaning *'jerked fish'* in Ilokano, Tagalog and Malay is evidence of Sama-Bajaw contact, since daqing is the generic term for fish in this language, and its export from Sulu as *'jerked fish'* would account for its being borrowed with this meaning into the languages of the peoples with whom the Sama-Bajaw traded.

Wolff (1976) has also presented a convincing case for a sizable, and influential, Malay-speaking community in the Manila area prior to European contact, and has documented scores of loans from Malay which came into Tagalog as a result. Many of these forms (both with and without medial nasal clusters) are also found in Ilokano and neighbouring languages, having been borrowed directly from Malay, or indirectly through Tagalog.

The primary evidence that these are loanwords is phonological. Wolff has charted a number of Javanese-Malay-Tagalog correspondences (Wolff 1976:351) which are indicative of borrowed terms in Tagalog. Where there is an Ilokano word which is identical to one in Tagalog which has been shown to be a borrowing, it is assumed that Ilokano has borrowed the Malay word via Tagalog. Sometimes an Ilokano word phonologically corresponds more closely to the Malay form than to the Tagalog, and in such cases direct borrowing from Malay is assumed. An example is the now obsolescent Ilokano word for coat or shirt, badio (Tagalog bado), which was without doubt a direct borrowing of Malay bad'u.

Considering the likelihood that Ilokano trade was probably carried on with itinerant Sama-Bajaw seafarers, we cannot rule out the possibility that some Ilokano forms (such as tamban *'sardine'*, which is identical in Tagalog, Malay and Sama-Bajaw) may have been borrowed directly from Sama-Bajaw rather than from Malay.

There are a number of Ilokano forms with medial nasal clusters for which no direct phonological evidence can be cited to prove borrowing. Nevertheless their meanings are suggestive of borrowed forms. Words associated with trade are prime candidates for borrowing. Such items would have included not only terms for objects that were commonly traded, but also the ways in which those objects were measured or counted, and the ways in which trading was commonly conducted. Other semantic clues for borrowing are found in words which refer to cultural adaptations, such as certain kinds of clothing (which I assume

were introduced after the first Austronesian settlement in Northern Luzon), and words for church and street (both probably relatively recent borrowings). The names for fruits and plants are also very susceptible to borrowing, and we find a number of these in the list of suspected borrowings.

The list of Ilokano words in Table 3 includes those forms having a medial nasal cluster which are suspect of being borrowed because of a phonological irregularity, or which have a non-Austronesian source.

Table 3: Borrowed medial cluster forms in Ilokano which show phonological irregularity

qampir *'sign, token'*	<	Ml ampir *'near'*
bibingka *'rice cake'*	<	Ml bingka, via Tg bibingka
kambal *'double yolk'*	<	Ml kembar, via Tg kambal
lampin *'diaper'*	<	Ml rompang-ramping *'rag'*, via Tg lampin
lansa *'nail, peg'*	<	Ml ran't'ang, possibly via Tg. Note Ceb lansang
langkuas *'Alpinia galanga'*	<	Ml lengkuas, via Tg langkwas
lumba *'race'*	<	Ml lumba, or Tg lumba
lumbalumba *'marine fish'*	<	Ml lumbalumba *'dolphin'*, also Tg
nangka *'jackfruit'*	<	Ml nangka, or Tg nangkaq
palangka *'movable seat'*	<	Ml palangka, also Tg *'sedan chair'*
panday *'blacksmithing'*	<	Ml panday *'skillful'*, via Tg panday *'blacksmith'*
pinggan *'dish'*	<	Ml pinggan *'bowl'*, via Tg pinggan *'dish'*
rangkap *'gift, tip, alms'*	<	Ml rangkap *'pair'*, Tg langkap *'that which is joined to something'*
ranggas *'damage, spoil'*	<	Ml ragas, ranggas *'defoliated'*
sampaga *'Arabic jasmine'*	<	Ml t'ampaka, via Tg sampaga
sampan *'boat'*	<	Ml, Tg sampan < Chinese
sampor *'reel of twine of two types'*	<	Ml t'ampor *'mixed'*
santol *'k.o. tree'*	<	Ml sentol, via Tg santol
simbaan *'church'*	<	Ml sembah *'respect'*, via Tg simbahan *'church'*
simpan *'put in order'*	<	Ml simpan *'be ready, have finished'*, or Tg simpan *'equipment'*
tanda *'sign, token'*	<	Ml tanda, or Tg tandaq
tanggigi *'Spanish mackerel'*	<	Tg tangginggiq, tangigiq, or tanigiq
timba *'pail'*	<	Ml timba, or Tg timbaq
timbeng *'scales'*	<	Ml, Tg timbang
tunda *'lead'*	<	Ml tunda *'be towed'*, or Tg tundaq

The following table of Ilokano words includes those which although their status as borrowed words cannot be verified by phonological means, are nevertheless suspect of being borrowed because of their semantics. Their possible sources in Malay and Tagalog are cited.

Table 4: Ilokano words with medial nasal clusters suspect of being borrowings from Malay or Tagalog

qingga *'end'*	Ml hingga
bangkudo *'red cotton'*	Ml bengkudu, Tg bangkuro *'k.o. tree used for red dye'*
bunton *'heap, pile'*	Tg bunton
dampag *'breadth'*	source uncertain
gimbal *'drum'*	Tg gimbal
lansangan *'street'*	Tg lansangan
mangga *'mango'*	Tg mangga
pandek *'short'*	Tg pandak
pandong *'mantilla, veil'*	Tg pandong
salambaw *'k.o. fishing net'*	Tg salambaw
sambot *'redeem, repay, recover'*	Tg sambot *'catch in the hand'*
sangga *'parry, ward off'*	Tg sangga
singked *'ratify, confirm'*	Tg singkad *'full, exact, complete'*
sumpit *'syringe, blowpipe'*	Tg sumpit *'blowgun, enema'*
tamban *'sardine'*	Tg tamban
tandok *'surgical cupping instrument sometimes made of horn'*	Tg tandok, cf. Ml tandok *'horn'*. Wolff considers the semantic similarity between the Tg and Ml forms as fortuitous.
tangkay *'stem, stalk, umbrella, handle, tool handle'*	Tg tangkay
tumbok *'iron pestle, melt and mould metal'*	Tg tumbok *'strike with pointed object'*
tunggal *'each, every'*	Tg tunggal *'buy and sell one by one'*

The only remaining forms in Ilokano which contain a medial nasal cluster and which may be reflexes of a reconstructed form with such a cluster are given in Table 5.

Table 5: Additional Ilokano words with medial nasal clusters	
qandap	*'luminescence'*
balantik	*'to flick'*
bantay	*'guard'*
bangkay	*'corpse'*
(g)ampang	*'frivolous'*
lindong	*'shade'*
sanggir	*'lean, incline'*
tambak	*'dam'*

Of these forms, bantay and bangkay occur identically in some of the Central and Southern Cordilleran languages in which, were they inherited, they would have final -ey for *-ay. It would be a reasonable inference that if they were borrowed in the Southern and Central Cordilleran languages, they were also borrowed in the Northern Cordilleran languages but without a phonological trace. These few remaining forms do not belong to the area of basic vocabulary, and consequently may well be borrowed. Certainly we would not wish to establish the occurrence of medial nasal clusters in the parent of Ilokano on the basis of such forms.

3. CONCLUSION

If, as the evidence suggests, the northern languages of the Philippines do not share in nasal infixation into root words, the implications for subgrouping are fairly clear. Those languages which do share it form a subgroup within Austronesian, and the northern languages of the Philippines are not part of that subgroup.

The Formosan languages are generally considered not to have reflexes of an assimilating nasal infix, either into root words or into ma- prefixed words. Benedict's (1976) attempt to identify such forms in Formosan languages is quite unconvincing. The forms which do show medial nasal clusters in Formosan languages can be accounted for by assigning the nasal to a reflex of PAN *-um- or *-in-.

A careful evaluation of the status of medial nasals in other Philippine languages is also called for. Blaan and Tboli, for example, do not appear to share in medial nasal infixation, nor is there any evidence that they ever had a maN- prefix. In this respect they are unlike most other extra-Formosan languages. They are unique also in that these are the only Philippine languages which use a reflex of *-in- solely to mark 'object focus' and not also as an aspect marker. Their antiquity is revealed also in their phonology. Tboli is the only Philippine language (apart from Tagbanwa) which retains PAN *q as a backed velar stop. Other Philippine languages have glottal stop (and zero) as their reflex of *q.

It is possible that Blaan and Tboli provide evidence of a very early migration south of Formosa by an Austronesian-speaking people. The northern languages of the Philippines are assumed to have developed from a separate migration, one which originated from the Amis-speaking area in south-east Formosa and which possibly passed by way of Botel Tobago, leaving a Yami-speaking population, to Y'Ami island and the Batanes archipelago, before moving south to populate the northern areas of Luzon. It is significant that the name Amis appears to be cognate with Tagalog qamihan, Ilk qamian *'north wind'*, Ilk qamianan *'north'*. Such formal similarities lend themselves to speculation as to the direction of the semantic development. If the Amis-speaking area was the dispersal point for Austronesian speakers to the south it is possible that *amiS-an *'place of the Amis'* could have become associated with the meaning *'north'*. On the other hand if migration had proceeded in the opposite direction, from south to north, it seems unlikely that this particular semantic development could have taken place.

A movement south from the northern Philippine area, resulted in the development of a subgroup within which medial nasal infixation developed. It is convenient to refer to this latter group as Malayo-Polynesian, and to include within it not only all the Austronesian languages of Indonesia and Oceania, but at least the Central Philippine languages as well.

The position of some of the other languages of the Philippines such as the Mangyan groups, the Manobo and Danao groups, Tiruray and Bagobo is uncertain. If it can be shown that forms with medial nasal clusters in these languages are the result of borrowing, and are not directly inherited, then they will need to be removed from the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup. As one moves south in the Philippines however, the degree of influence of one or more of the central Philippine languages becomes more and more pervasive, so that it becomes more and more difficult to separate the strata in the languages.

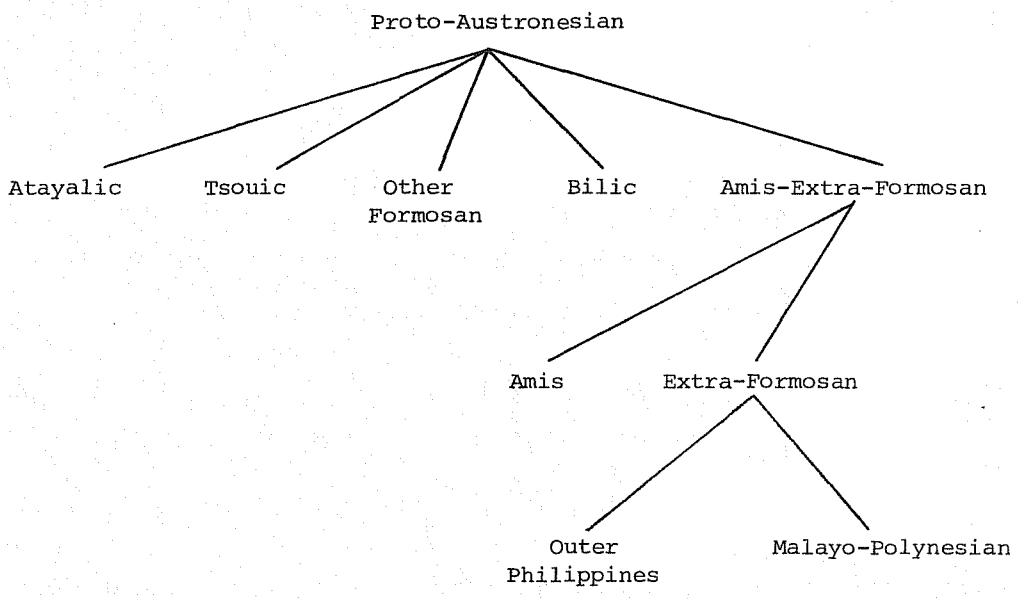
We must remember also that we are talking about contact between possibly geographically adjacent languages, which must have been going on for seven thousand years or more. The dispersal of the Oceanic group is gauged by Pawley and Green (1973:52) to have begun not later than 5000 years ago. They cite archaeological evidence that New Caledonia has been occupied since 3000 B.C. If Formosa was indeed the homeland of Proto-Austronesian the disperal of the Austronesians could hardly have started later than 5000 B.C.

An attempt has been made in this paper to show that languages which share medial nasal clusters as the result of an infixed *-N-, form a genetic subgroup distinct from those which do not. Since Philippine languages are split between those which do and those which do not, and those which do share the nasal infixing innovation with Indonesian and Oceanic languages, we can no longer consider Philippine languages as constituting a single subgroup within the Hesperonesian languages.

Other possible innovations may also be identified for this redefined Malayo-Polynesian, which may make it easier to definitively exclude some if not all southern Philippine languages and possibly some languages to the south of the Philippines from it. One such possible innovation which may be useful for this purpose is the development of a velar nasal variant of the PAN ligature *a following vowels, with the ultimate development of nasal final determiners such as Tagalog ang, Javanese sang, etc., (Reid 1978), an innovation which may not be unrelated to the nasal infixation process which has been discussed in this paper. Because of the likelihood that evidence will be forthcoming to include southern Philippine languages with those of the northern Philippines in

a subgroup distinct from the central Philippine languages, I now use the term Outer Philippines to label all non-Malayo-Polynesian Philippine languages.

The subgrouping of PAN at its highest level, which best accounts for the above facts is a modification of that proposed by Blust, and by Harvey:



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